

SPEAK YOUR PIECE

The Character of World War II

Editor, Daily Worker:

When the Communist Party raised the slogan in 1939-40, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," it had reasons for doing so which are completely ignored in the ultra-long letter of A. M. (July 1, '56) which terms it a "blatant example" of error.

The war at that time was definitely all-imperialist. Allied and German imperialism had schemed by every means to resolve their rivalries in an anti-Soviet war of plunder. It was only when they were foiled decisively by the USSR and the progressive forces of their own lands that they resorted to war against each other. They did so reluctantly, an continued to scheme, e.g., through Finland, for an anti-Soviet war.

A blood-bath for Americans was being exhorted in a war which was devoid of anti-fascist aims.

The war was one which at that time could conceivably have been ended quickly, with a tremendous setback to fascism, by the war's not being extended. The further requirement was a diplomatic rapprochement of Great Britain with the USSR, such as Lloyd George was demanding. At that stage a mutual assistance pact with the USSR, and something similar with U.S., could have had a shattering impact within the fascist orbit. A mutual assistance pact against aggression would have been no violation of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Chamberlain had pulled every hoodlum trick he knew to avoid and break up any honest rapprochement. Churchill, even with his countrymen perishing, refused to make the slightest try at a rapprochement.

This is history. The "blatant example of error" is A.M.'s. It is also an example of gross errors which are being disseminated by many of today's top leaders of the Party. Their "revaluations" of past policies of the party are without the least scholarly consideration of the historical facts and details.

They are determined by an eagerness to tell every past critic that almost whatever his criticism may have been, the party now "agrees" that he was right and the party was wrong. And to prove the new capacity of the party for self-criticism by scouring for sins to confess to the world, of which—if possible—the party has not yet been accused.

An awful lot of damage is being done by some of these leaders, to the party and to the cause of the understanding of history. Will you print—if I add it—that it is practically masochism?—W. R.

Key Problem Of Politics

FLINT, MICH.

Editor, Daily Worker:

I wish we could agree among ourselves as to what is the key problem in American political life. Then we could focus attention upon it to work out a solution.

To me, it seems that the problem is this: our labor movement has developed as a separate current from the Communist movement. We need a merger of these currents. Only on this basis can America take the road to socialism.

But instead of a merger, over the years a wall has been built up separating the currents: Of course, the Communists did not build this wall. It was built by the bourgeoisie and their supporters in the labor movement. But many times the Communists' action eased the task of the wall-builders.

In this situation, it is up to the

Communists to be flexible. This must be our approach, our basis of discussion. We must think before we reject an unusual proposal.

Perhaps careful examination will show that the Communist Party as an organization has been woven into the fabric of the separating wall.

It hurts to suggest this because the Communist Party has been like a mother to us. What can emotionally move us more than thinking about the Scottsboro frame-up, Joe York, the world wide fight against fascism, or the fight for the Bill of Rights by the Smith Act and witchhunt victims? We are heirs to a glorious tradition.

But what is the reality of America, 1956? A wall separating the currents of labor and socialism, and a need for flexibility to overcome the situation.

There must always be an organized center of contact for American Marxists.

But could we not examine the question of a new organization of American Marxists that has not been woven into the wall separating the currents?

Eventually we could be in a position to be a wing or a caucus within the broad labor party that is certain of eventual organization (including efforts inside and outside the labor movement and the Democratic party). It is this not the road to escaping degeneration into a sect? Is this not the most immediate of many stages through which American Marxism must pass?—JIM

July 19 vs.

June 24

PITTSBURGH, Pa.

Editor, Daily Worker:

In its resolution of July 19, analyzing the recent resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States has failed to give the necessary leadership in the development of an independent Marxist method of analyzing problems and drawing conclusions.

It appears that the National Committee supported the view of Eugene Dennis, who hurriedly and unilaterally endorsed the CPSU resolution the day after its release. His position and the subsequent National Committee statement repudiated the earlier June 24 resolution of the U. S. National Committee which stated:

"We cannot accept an analysis of such profound mistakes which attributes them solely to the capricious aberrations of a single individual, no matter how much arbitrary power he was wrongly permitted to usurp."

"In our opinion the mistakes made were primarily a result of the wrong policies and concepts arising in part out of the fact that the Soviet Union was the pioneering land of Socialism and was surrounded for decades by a hostile capitalist world. Some of these policies and concepts have already been repudiated. But the historic objective factors associated with these errors need to be more fully assessed. Also required is a further and deeper examination of such questions as the structure and operation of Socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries as well as the new problems and perspectives arising as the workers of other lands move toward Socialism. This will illuminate the source of past errors and help avoid future ones."

"The Communist Party of the U. S. has some serious conclusions to draw from all this. For we are responsible to the working class and people of our own country. And to them we admit frankly that we uncritically jus-

tified many foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union which are now shown to be wrong."

The CPSU resolution was an excellent marshalling of facts and conclusions explaining the Soviet Party's reasoning for the development of their errors. Yet, it falls short in answering all the questions posed by the June 24 U. S. National Committee statement.

The CPSU states that "the personality cult contradicts the nature of the Socialist order and became an obstacle on the way to the development of Socialist democracy." On the other hand they say "It would however, be a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of the personality some kind of changes in the social order of the USSR or to look for the source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order."

So once again it was all the fault of Stalin whose crimes in turn was entirely the product of the objective struggles against bourgeois ideology and attacks from within and without the Soviet Union. Didn't the violations of Socialist theory, beliefs and ideals have any relationship to the manner in which the Soviet Communist Party was organized, or developed its leadership and program in its 35 years of power in the Soviet Union? Can we absolve entirely the forms and procedures as well as policies that the Socialist government pursued during its existence?

Socialism, the liberating force for all mankind has nothing in common with these distortions of Socialism in the USSR. These evils are not inherent in Socialism. However, these evils did occur under the Socialism conceived and organized by the leadership of the CPSU and I might add Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, etc. Yes, we can say that a Stalin as he developed could not change the basic Socialist form that was created in the Soviet Union, but also we must see that there are some weaknesses within that Socialist system that allowed for the development of a Stalin and all the evils that have been enumerated.

It is true Socialism has created many "miracles" in the Soviet Union. The 20th Congress envisions many more, and brilliantly analyzes world relationships and trends so as to give a lead to all pro-peace, pro-democratic forces in the fight for a decent world. It is also true that since Stalin's death the present leadership has corrected many of the inequities of the past and appear to be changing certain methods and forms of government to prevent their re-occurrence. But, I hold that unless they see that a Stalin and Beria was created by the weaknesses in the form of Socialism they created they cannot fully get to the root of the infection and cleanse it so thoroughly that it cannot again reoccur.

I am sorry to read in the recent National Committee resolution "we believe the resolution of the CPSU provides a convincing answer to the Big Business enemies of Socialism who claim that the gross mistakes made under Stalin's leadership are inherent in Socialism." I for one, an active Communist for many years see this only as a bludgeon designed to stop honest analysis and criticism both of the CPSU and the CPUSA.

I disagree with the National Committee recent statement and I hope that many of my comrades share my views.

As an American Communist Party which is trying to win the American working class to Socialism we have no reason to accept or explain away the harmful aspects of the Socialism of the USSR. It is our respon-

sibility to learn all the positive experiences and lessons of other Marxist parties and apply them based upon the conditions in our own country.

I might also add that the acceptance per se of the explanation of the CPSU Central Committee will tend to encourage them to go their own way without listening to the thinking and analyses of other Parties who speak out, motivated by the deepest fraternal feelings for the Soviet Party (but who also recognize that the CPSU doesn't possess a blank check on all the answers needed by the working classes throughout the world.) Their casual glossing off of Comrade Tolgiatti's statements is an example of what I mean.

The N. Y. Times in its version of the National Committee statement states that in their opinion the recent U. S. resolution is a compromise of National Committee differences. Maybe it is. Maybe it isn't. But, it appears to me that it does compromise the American Communist Party in the eyes of the American people. I urge a reconsideration of the July 19 resolution and a reinstatement of the June 24 resolution as the policy of the Communist Party of the USA.

—A Pittsburgh Worker.

Objective Situation

Editor, Daily Worker:

There has been lots of critical discussion of the "leftism" that led to the isolation of the Communists in the labor movement, about tactical errors that flowed from over-estimating the dangers of war and fascism, and about the grievous consequences of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. having followed too closely the lead of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Without minimizing the consequences of incorrect estimates, I do believe that more attention must be paid to the objective situation within which these errors were made.

Let's not forget that Dulles did bring us to the brink of war!

Let's not forget that McCarthy's reign of terror and the McCarran Act, the Butler Bill and a host of other legislation was aimed at destroying our democratic rights!

Let's not forget that the FBI was busy pounding on doors—and that there were arrests and that Communist Party members did go to prison!

Let's not forget that reactionary divisionist forces did hammer at the late Philip Murray (as well as the rank and file) to "get rid of the Reds" since the 1946 passage of Taft-Hartley and the opening of the cold war!

But above all, let's not forget that under these pressures the American people, in the main, retreated from contact with the left to seek "safety" in the center and even in the Right.

I don't think it would be merely academic to try to assess who moved away from whom. If the major movement was of the people away from the left (as a result of reaction's hammer blows) many questions must arise. Among them, "How far to the Right does a party of socialism move to keep its ties with the people?" "Was it 'left' to raise such questions as war or peace, democracy or fascism, the dangers inherent in the Truman Doctrine, etc.?" "Did the people repudiate us for our ideas as well as our organization—or are they simply unable to express themselves when they agree?" "Were our errors not more of tactical application of line, than line itself?"

Before we seriously consider the advice of some that we solve

our problems by dissolving the Communist Party let's have a full picture of our past, present and future role — our achievements as well as our shortcomings. Let's learn from American history as a whole, not just from the history of the party. Let's stick to the FACTS of life!

TRADE UNIONIST.

Historic Struggles

Editor, Daily Worker:

The letters which appear daily criticizing the Communist Party for its past "sectarianism," "right opportunism," "isolationism," etc., wouldn't be too bad a thing if the writers of these letters would look at the Communist Party more objectively.

We must ask the question, "Has the Communist Party, USA, played a positive role in our country and when has it fallen down?"

How many of these correspondents remember the role of the party played in the following struggles around these issues:

- 1—The Sacco-Vanzetti case.
- 2—The Scottsboro case.
- 3—The Angelo Herndon case.
- 4—The unemployment struggle (1932-37).
- 5—The New Deal struggle (housing, social security, etc.).
- 6—The fight for peace (1936-38).
- 7—The anti-fascist struggle (Spanish and Japan—1932-36).
- 8—The fight for Negro rights —Willie McGee, Trenton Six, Rosa Lee Ingram, etc.
- 9—The fight for industrial unionism (organization of CIO)
- 10—The fight against Nazism (World War II).

Now of course there were mistakes made in and around all of the above struggles. In fact, there were mistakes made on issues not mentioned in the above issues. However, the main thing that must be emphasized is that the CPUSA has played a positive role in the past, and can play a positive role in the future. Sure, mistakes were made on the role we played during the Marshall Plan days, non-aggression pact days, right-and-wrong-war days, there's-no-one-like-Stalin days, etc.

However, too much pessimism and demoralization is taking place these days merely because we discovered that we made some big blunders. Too much disorganization is resulting from too much loud talk.

If we want to go forward in this new era; if we want to become a party of the mass of people; if we want to become a mass Socialist Party, then let's start doing something. How many of these correspondents are going out into the Negro community and are becoming a part of their struggle? How many of these people are pushing door to door to register people to vote? How many are visiting our farmers and trying to help them out of their dilemma of mortgage failure or unemployment?

There's much work to be done. There are many people who are looking for help to do this work. We can be a real driving force to all of these segments in our society who are allies and aligned to the working class. Let's go out and do more work and less belly-aching.

—W. R.

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